

Message Text

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70

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15

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R 281450Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1513

INFO ABEMBASSY BELGRADE 1574

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

USMISSION BERLIN

USNATO 1679

CINCPAC

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: P

OR, UR, CH

SUBJ: ANTI-CHINA POLEMIC HAS OVERTONES OF
INTRA-BLOC DISSENSION

REF: A. MOSCOW 9358 (NOTAL) B. SOFIA 1125 (NOTAL)

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1. SECOND AUTHORITATIVE ARTICLE BY I. ALEKSANDROV

(PSEUDONYM) SINCE CRIMEA MEETING PRESENTS DETAILED INDICTMENT OF PRC FOREIGN POLICY IN MANNER CALCULATED TO SUPPORT ARGUMENT THAT CHINA NO LONGER A SOCIALIST COUNTRY. HOWEVER, ARTICLE STOPS SHORT OF ASSERTING THIS EXPLICITLY AND IN SOME RESPECTS RETREATS FROM AUGUST 7 ARTICLE TREATMENT OF THE ISSUE. WHILE EARLIER ARTICLE SPOKE OF NORMALIZATION "ON PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" (WHICH WOULD IMPLY CHINA IS NON-SOCIALIST), NEW ALEKSANDROV PIECE IN PRAVDA AUGUST 26 OMITTS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ASPECT. INDEED, BREZHNEV REFRAINED FROM USING PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FORMULA IN HIS AUGUST 15 ALMA-ATA MESSAGES ON CHINA, AND NEW ARTICLE

FALLS BACK ON HIS LANGUAGE.

2. THIS SEEMINGLY ESOTERIC POINT MAY EXPLAIN WHY SOVIETS FELT IT NECESSARY TO GIVE CHINA A SECOND GOING-OVER JUST THREE WEEKS AFTER THE FIRST. AS NOTED

REFTEL A, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FORMULA WAS ATTRIBUTED TO APRIL 1973 CPSU PLENUM, BUT PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS OF THAT PLENUM DO NOT BEAR THIS OUT. WE SPECULATE THAT FIRST ALEKSANDROV ARTICLE WAS MORE THAN TRAFFIC WOULD BEAR AT THIS JUNCTURE AND MAY HAVE JEOPARDIZED DELICATE PROCESS OF BACKING ROMANIANS INTO A CORNER ON THE CHINA QUESTION.

3. IF HE IS BACKTRACKING, "ALEKSANDROV" TAKES A FEW POTSHOTS AT HIS INTRA-BLOC ADVERSARIES ALONG THE WAY. AFTER DEVELOPING THEME THAT MAOISTS SEEKING TO SPLIT INCLINATIONS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, "HE ACCUSES CCP OF TRYING TO INDUCE "CERTAIN COMMUNIST PARTIES" TO REFRAIN FROM CRITICISM OF CHINESE POLICIES AND TO ADOPT A NEUTRAL POSITION." THIS APPEARS TO FIT ROMANIANS LIKE A GLOVE. PROMINENT PUBLICATION OF ARTICLE IN BULGARIA (REF B) LENDS ADDITIONAL CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE TO THESIS THAT ALEKSANDROV IS CORSSING SWORDS WITH ROMANIA.

4. "ALEKSANDROV" LEAVES NO STONE UNTURNED IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BUTTRESSING HIS UNSTATED CONCLUSION THAT CHINA IS BEYOND THE SOCIALIST PALE. HE REPORTS THAT PRC DELEGATION TO RECENT UNCTAD SESSION PETITIONED SECRETARIAT TO BE INSCRIBED AS DEVELOPING COUNTRY AND REMOVED FROM LIST OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

5. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS SOVIETS ARE INCHING TOWARD FORMAL FINDING THAT CHINA IS NOT A SOCIALIST COUNTRY, BUT ARE MOVING SLOWLY BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION BY ROMANIANS AND PROBABLY SOME NON-RULING PARTIES.

SOVIETS MAY REGARD THIS MOVE AS ESSENTIAL PART OF THEIR
POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC-IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST CHINA
AND AS PRELIMINARY TO CONVENING INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST CONCLAVE.

6. CHINESE EMBOFF, WHO SEEMED TO TAKE DELIGHT IN
DESCRIBING SOVIETS' IDEOLOGICAL BIND REGARDING
CHINA'S STATUS, TOLD US LAST WEEK THAT LATEST YEARBOOK
OF GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA STATES THAT CHINA IS NOT
A SOCIALIST COUNTRY (THUS FAR WE HAVE ONLY THE 1972
YEARBOOK, SIGNED TO PRESS SEPTEMBER 1972, WHICH DESCRIBES
CHINA AS SOCIALIST).
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